

V.

HUNGARY

Three years struggle against feudal reaction and against election reform.

The period between the Stuttgart international Congress and that of Copenhagen has been a time of bitter trial and hard struggle for the social democratic party of Hungary. The socialist agitation, which spread over the whole land, brought about to a great extent the downfall of the so-called "liberal regime" which had lasted for 40 years, and to this agitation is greatly due the fact that in 1905 the extra-parliamentary cabinet, called the «Trabantenkabinet» of the Fehervary-Kristoffy government, took for their programme *general, equal, secret, direct, right of vote*. Neither this government nor its successor, the Coalition government, had any single real programme, with the exception of the election reform. To what extent election reform thrust every other political problem in the background, is proved by the following paragraph out of the speech from the throne given on May 22, 1906 before the members of both governing bodies :

« From the point of view of the present formation of constitutional life, it will be the most important duty of our present government to bring the entire nation into the bulwarks of political life, by extending political rights to all strata of society. For this purpose they will prepare the plans for the free practice of general suffrage while at the same time safe-

guarding the proper claims of a democratic state and the keeping up of Hungary's national character... These, my lords, and gentlemen, are the duties which our government has undertaken to perform, undertaken in the sense, that these are questions to be solved first and unconditionally, the solution of which can neither be eluded nor put off by the proposal of other questions »

The announcement of freedom of election in such a solemn and decided manner in any other civilised state of the world, would have signified a speedy and radical solution of this question. However, circumstances and a thorough knowledge of the politicians concerned have caused the class proletariat of Hungary to regard the Coalition Government with absolute mistrust. And only too soon were we to become convinced that a government whose leading men were a Franz Kossuth, the son of the revolutionary of 48 Ludwig Kossuth, the clerical and nationalist demagogue Count Alfred Apponyi and the thoroughly feudal agrarian Count Julius Andrassy and Fiskal Polonyi known throughout Europe for his Panamism, that such a government could not enjoy the trust of an aspiring modern proletariat, but moreover that this country has not seen more determined or more bitter enemies of the working class.

By means of a betrayal of principle impossible in any cultured state of Europe and by an incredible degree of demagogism, these gentlemen and their adherents got into power. They have not been ashamed frequently and openly to declare since then that that the real object of their accession to power was not the honest realisation of election reform, promised in the speech from the throne, but actually to divert and submerge it. And towards this object, which they admitted only later on, their activity was directed. They established such a reactionary regime and showed in their methods against the labour movement such unceasing brutality and infamy that the notorious Banffy persecution era, still remembered in other countries, was mild in comparison with the Coalition

era, although it is well known that at that time the Hungarian labour movement received its baptism of blood.

The Coalition Cabinet Minister of Justice, Polonyi, who is up to his eyes in Panamism did not even deem it necessary at least to pretend that impartiality which is an attribute of his office. With the class labour movement in his mind's eye, he declared openly that a day of reckoning for the homeless agitators had come. The first act of the Coalition government was the brutal oppression of the flourishing agricultural labour movement. After many years struggle the government of 1905 had finally sanctioned the statutes of the Hungarian agricultural labour union or assembly ; there is no law for this. The ministerial decrees that exist are all directed towards restricting even the smallest degree of freedom of the labourer. If therefore this can be said of Hungarian labourers in general, the millions of agricultural labourers suffer under it a hundredfold.

The landowners and the " Komitat " gentry, the magistrates maintain, with regard to the oppression of the working-men, a system which is contrary to all the conditions of civilisation, in the plains of Hungary as in every part of the country. Those working-men who have not emigrated, eke out a miserable existence — according to government statistics — on a starvation wage of from 90 Hellers to 1 Crown per day. When in 1905 the government finally sanctioned the statutes of the agricultural labour union the same agricultural labourers greeted the organisation as a delivrance. After a few months the management of the union was already able to publish a report on its development, according to which the following members had joined :

On June 30, 1906	284 groups with	13,814 members
On September 30, 1906	363 "	22,963 "
On December 31. 1906	428 "	40,595 "
On March 1, 1907	532 "	48,616 "

In order to thoroughly bring about the day of reckoning »

referred to above, the Coalition government has actually trampled under foot this beautiful and fresh seed.

The formation of new groups was rendered impossible by ministerial decree, the existing groups were simply dissolved, or else those persons mediating for the labourers were persecuted and punished. The same fate awaited the members of the union if they showed that they meant business with their organisation and its object — the improvement of position of the labourer. During the first summer of the Coalition era no less than five thousand agricultural labourers were locked up in the prisons of the country, their only crime being, at harvest time to ask for more humane treatment and an increase of wages of 5-10 Heller per day. As a characteristic of these conditions we would mention here that a single magistrate dealt out 36,000 days punishment to agricultural labourers ; these were mowers of one district who refused to do their harvest work from early morning till late evening at a starvation wage.

Under these circumstances we were forced early in 1908 to state at the beginning of our party report on work done in 1907, that our activity in the preceding year could be summed up in the words : « Protection against reaction and fight for liberty of election. » The first work of the government was to fabricate newer decrees which made labour organisation more difficult than ever.

For example in November 1907 the decree N° 122,000 of the Minister of the Interior Count Julius Andrassy, as a result of which the work of organisation in the whole country met with fresh and almost insuperable hindrances. This decree, among other things, empowered a magistrate — the most ignorant and brutal kind of Hungarian official — at any time to enter a labour organisation, to take part in its assemblies and meetings and examine the books ; in short to hinder the progress of organisation at will. But with the year 1907 the enmity of the Coalition government towards labourers was far from being exhausted by the harassing of labour orga-

nisation. Noting the agricultural labour movement of last summer they drew up a law which was in every way stricter than the law known throughout the land as the « slave-law », which had remained in force since 1898 since the Banffy era, as an extra decree. In the same year the government was guilty of a crime against the liberty of organisation of railway workmen, enforcing such arbitrary conditions on railway employés all over the country, as to bring about the downfall of railway organisation. They went so far as to decree that no railway workmen should read any special newspaper and thus railway men were forbidden to join the socialist democratic party either openly or in secret. This year also was created that social-political decree of the Coalition government — the new sickness and accident insurance law — which we will discuss at length later on, and which called forth smiles from those countries well versed in the question; the point of this law is directed against those labour rights already gained and their guaranteed autonomy. And while on the one hand government manufactured laws and decrees one after the other against labour organisation, on the other hand employers organisations were formed with absolute government protection. These organisations were not only permitted to do all — as regards organising — for which the labour organisations were mercilessly dissolved, but their statutes sanctioned by the government, guaranteed them the utmost extensive power of terrorising those employers, who were not inclined to proceed against the labour organisations in such a manner as the employers unions might think fit.

It was easy to see what was the object of the Coalition government. They wanted to get out of their one and only task — the creation of honest labour reform. In order to do this they fawned upon the employers — but on the other hand threw themselves on the labour-class organisations in order to rid themselves of those who had most radically and consistently demanded reform : that is the organised

masses of the labour class. They even waived their policy directed against Vienna, that is against the Crown and to the astonishment of the whole country, those men, who as leaders of the opposition had constantly raised military and other questions — in the manner of real court lackeys not only delivered the best they could get to Vienna, but even offered everything. On this ground, Franz Kossuth, as Minister of Commerce, showed such excellent good-will that in his second year of office, he, the son of that Ludwig Kossuth, who had dethroned the Habsburgs, became possessor of the grand cross of the order of Leopold, which carries with it the distinction of its bearer being addressed by Franz Josef the Habsburger as « mon cousin ».

Naturally this policy on the part of the government could not arrest the great struggle on the part of labourdom for liberty of election, at the most it could only instigate the latter to greater sacrifices. We had already realised that, as regards election reform, the government was behaving infamously and treacherously and for this reason we exhorted the labour class throughout the country to unceasing agitation and constant demonstration and these demonstrations reached a climax on October 10, 1907 when a one day demonstration mass strike took place. The general one day strike of October 10, can be termed a brilliant success. In addition to Budapest where cessation from work was complete and universal and where in every sense of the word on that day working-men took part in the mass meetings — we have authentic reports of about two hundred towns of Hungary, all of which state the brilliant success of the great demonstration strike. It is of interest to note that Franz Kossuth, minister of commerce, ordered his officials to collect statistics of this strike and in this document the number of those taking part in it was reported at 184,921. It will of course be understood that the number of working-men who actually took part in the strike was considerably greater than given in the official report, although only industrial working-men took part in this strike. From

this time on, the Coalition government, its parliament and officials redoubled their ardour and efforts to incline the victory of this great class struggle to the side of capitalism. The persecution of industrial labourers organisations was continued in a more shameless and brutal manner than ever.

We had long since passed the period which the government had appointed with its promise to submit the election reform project to the house of representatives. To the continual urgent demonstrations of the working class the government replied with the suspension of labour organisations and with the punishment of demonstrators according to Russian methods.

1908 was a year of permanent street demonstrations. Our demonstrations were so-called peaceful demonstrations ; the working-men doing nothing more than marching through the streets in great numbers, passing in front of the parliament building or before the political club and cheering the right of election. They were not drawn into committing acts of violence, nor did they do any damage to property. But as regards the behaviour of the police we will refer to passages in the two government organs. For instance, after the evening demonstrations of September 16, 21, and 23, 1908, the Coalition organ « Budapest » wrote of the police as follows : — « As if the police had been attacked with wild rage etc. » The Coalition paper « Egyetertes » stated : « We do not think that even in gigantic Russia one could find such a wild drunken herd of Cossacks, capable of committing such acts of brutality ». ... After one or two demonstrations the police bullies penetrated into the public coffeerooms in pursuit of the demonstrators brandishing their drawn swords among the coffeehouse guests. At a demonstration on October 8, 1908, the police again lost their heads, and proceeded in such a manner as to surpass anything they had done up to then. In opposition to the mad butchery of the police cossacks, some of the demonstrators took advantage of the right of self-defence and are alleged to have « struck back ». That same

evening 50 of our comrades were dragged to the police station. From that time, the whole pack of police were on the track of more or lesser known comrades. Several party leaders were summonsed and their dwellings searched for « proofs ». On October 9, 23 comrades were brought to trial and on October 11, 17 comrades were arrested for having « instigated attempt to murder and otherwise do violence to officials ». Most of these citizens at the police station were struck insulted and dragged into a room, where the police, by means of the most exquisite torture tried to extort from them the confession they desired. The documents which testify to this bloodthirsty brutality on the part of the police we have published separately under the title of « Cossack government in Budapest ». We have taken good care that this stigma of the Hungarian Coalition government, shall not be forgotten by the civilised world.

The sanguinary demonstrations, as well as the « destruction » action of the Coalition were continued. The bitter struggle of the working class with the reactionary power of the State reached a climax on the last day of 1908. On that day the working class of the capital replied to Count Julius Andrassy's worst trick — the futile suspension of the iron and metal labourers' union and the Budapest joiners' section with a 24 hour political mass strike.

This one day universal strike in which — without any preparation — sixty-two thousand industrial labourers took part, gave ample proof of the lofty purpose and unequalled readiness for sacrifice inherent in the soldiers of the socialist democratic party.

Our great struggle has also caused our Austrian affiliated party to participate. The committee of the Austrian party called a general conference on September 28, 1908 in Vienna. This conference, at which delegates of the social democratic party representing the different nations in Austria and Hungary assisted was a powerful manifestation in the interests of Hungarian election reform. At this meeting Comrade Dr Viktor

Adler pointed out, in his wide political report, the causes which go to make election reform in Hungary, irresistible and with powerful arguments he referred to the common interests of the Austrian and Hungarian proletariat.

In the meantime the carefully concealed plan of the Coalition government was revealed, according to which they meant to fulfil the distinct promise with regard to election reform given in the speech from the throne in 1906, in such a manner, that, instead of the honest, general, equal and secret right of vote they wished to substitute the right of plural vote. This project was made public by the central organ of our Party the « Nepszava » and the government — in spite of itself — was obliged to acknowledge the authorship. The project for the right of plural voting indited by the Minister of the Interior Count Julius Andrassy was the most reactionary compilation of all those existing, unjust and uncontrollable voting systems that are still to be found here and there in other countries. According to this project persons belonging to the capitalist class should have three, others two votes, a stratum of working-men should have one vote and the considerable number of persons not able to read or write should have the tenth part of a vote. For those who are unable to write or read indirect right of vote was contemplated in the project; as regards the form of vote, it was intended to keep the public form. With the enforcement of this project of Count Andrassy, the class of Hungarian feudal landowners, as well as the capitalist bourgeois class, could keep power and government in their hands for numberless years. It was pointed out by means of various figures and statistics that the intended reform would alter absolutely nothing in the existing dimensions of government and social structure of the country. Count Andrassy fought for a long time at the Court at Vienna to gain a temporary sanction for his project, which was necessary for him to submit same to parliament. For a long time he could not succeed in obtaining this sanction so long until the Vienna Court found itself in such an unpleasant

position with regard to the annexation of Bosnia, that it was obliged to consent to any demand on the part of the Hungarian government. In November 1908 the coalition government submitted the plural voting project to the parliament, who put the project before a committee.

On December 6, 1908 we held an extraordinary party congress which decided that to oppose the passing of the law of plural voting the working class would have recourse to a universal political mass strike.

The project for plural voting has not yet been passed, because the coalition government, after governing for four years, came to an ignominious end, more ignominious than that of any of its predecessors.

The system of coalition was based on a gigantic demagogic betrayal of the people; they seized the political power in a very interesting manner. When the downtrodden lower classes of the people, no less than the smaller and middle landowning classes as well as the smaller bourgeoisie, becoming weary of their domestic and political oppression, began to awaken, the feudal landowners class recognising the danger, by means of demagogic catchwords directed against Austria and the crown, succeeded in bringing over to their side the majority of the votes and thus gained political power. After they — coalition politicians — had come into power, it was their first task to repudiate the principles and catchwords which had helped them into power and they showed themselves in their true colours by becoming even more reactionary and by hating and persecuting the lower classes of the people than any of their predecessors had done. The coalition government did not wish to hear anything of the universal, equal and secret right of vote. That part of the coalition which comprised the great landowners and their faithful band of lackeys preferred to lose their power rather than assist in the creation of honest election reform. But that part of the coalition which represented the middle landowners and the smaller bourgeoisie, who were so easily gained over by talk, tried their luck again

with radical catchwords. Thus the coalition became divided and its fall was chiefly brought about by those principles of which part of the coalition made use and which — as especially the catchwords of the independent national bank directed towards national independence from Austria — were all directed against Austria and the crown.

With the fall of the coalition government the aspiring proletariat could celebrate the fall of their bitterest persecutors. The following table goes to prove this, showing that the Hungarian working class suffered the most brutal and cruel persecution during the period from 1899 to 1910 — including a part of the notorious Banffy era. Here is the statistic proof:

Year	period of punishment			Amount of fines
	years	months	days	
1899-1900	35 *	1	18	26.846 Kr.
1900-1901	2	8	29	3.465 »
1901-1902	—	1	19	840 »
1902-1903	—	5	—	2.677 »
1903-1904	28 **	6	14	25.827 »
1904-1905	41 ***	8	19	19.519 »
1905-1906	8	11	11	5.560 »
1906-1907	2	10	12	2.990 »
1907-1908	25	1	6	14.978 »
1908-1909	36	5	15	23.730 »
1909-1910	27	8	15	11.740 »

On January 11, 1910 Count Khuen-Hedervary was entrusted with the formation of a cabinet. Khuen and his government came in without any programme. In his first speech in Parliament Khuen declared in the name of the government that he desired general right of vote-leaving out the plurality.

* out of the Banffy era.

** Including punishments during the harvest strike

*** 23 years of this concern the victims of the Elesder bloodbath.

He further declared that he wished to handle the right of union and assembly in the proper manner. At the time of writing these lines we are on the eve of the elections. We can therefore not form any decisive opinion with regard to the future Nevertheless we must look upon Khuen's undertaking with suspicion, especially if we contemplate his adherents. Khuen gained for himself the people of the so-called liberal party, which prior to the seizure of power by the coalition government, had ruled for 40 years ; and among these his principal supporter is the politician Count Stephan Tissa, wellknown for his conservative principles and who 5 years ago when the liberal government fell, was president. Although Count Stephan Tissa is a member of the party formed by Khuen, he is proclaiming through the country the most vehement and violent agitation against general equal and secret right of vote. The members of Khuen's party are developing as candidates the most contradictory views and programme with regard to the voting question. The working class is also active in the vote campaign. The enemies of the right to vote are pursued, and by their extensive agitation, as well as their impressive demonstrations the working class is endeavouring to gain the majority of voters to the side of those candidates who desire to propagate an honest and respectable election reform

Moreover, the working class which has survived the persecutions of the coalition era, is ready to do further battle. Their struggles up to now, have resulted in inducing the progressive thinking bourgeois to take action in the demand for election reform As the data of the report show, the working class has had to bring great sacrifices for the safeguarding of their class interests, and, as the report shows further, there are mighty class forces which are ranged in opposite camps in this country. To the class-conscious working men are opposed class-conscious oppressors - as the coalition rule showed - and these will not give up their rights easily. Perhaps it is the extraordinary tenacity and the long duration

of the fight which has caused some of our brothers-in-arms to become impatient, and to them are also due the objections raised against the tactics and attitude of the party, which have been published either at home or in foreign party organs. We can only again refer to the data of our report and with a clear conscience we can declare that we have fulfilled our duty, like any single or special member of the International ! But just for this reason we were often surprised to see that in their criticisms of the labour movement in Hungary and of the class struggle of the Hungarian proletariat and especially in some of the German organs, that objectivity and international solidarity was not applied which the Hungarian working class and its leaders have a right to demand in their extraordinarily difficult struggle. But there is every reason to hope that this also will be altered when we shall be able to report to the International that the Hungarian proletariat has succeeded, after a hard and bitter struggle, in obtaining those political rights which are the conditions of further development and progress. However hard the fight, we shall keep the promise we have so often repeated : we shall not rest until we have obtained the victory !

Takings and expenses of the Party and Collections

	From March 15 1907 to March 15 1908	From March 15 1908 to March 15 1909	From March 15 1909 to March 15 1910	TOTAL
	CROWNS			
Takings	79,689.24	91,492.76	74 169.60	245,351.60
Expenses	91,700.26	91,396.31	68,995.95	252,092.52

Takings and expenses of the « Nepszava »¹ and the « Volksstimme »²

	From March 15 1907 to March 15 1908	From March 15 1908 to March 15 1909	From March 15 1909 to March 15 1910	TOTAL
	CROWNS			
Takings	363,172.66	362,795.33	374,122.57	1,100,090.56
Expenses	353,043.48	362,784.04	375,924.63	1,091,752.15

Larger sums expended (for agitation, central and provincial secretariats and for the support of prisoners)

	1907	1908	1909	TOTAL
	CROWNS			
Central-secretariat	22,285.87	1,542.23	20,076.51	61,903.81
Provincial-secretariats	12,517 —	9,060.30	1,825 —	23,402.30
For agitation	49,722.19	45,821.98	28,123.83	123,663 —
Support of prisoners	7,176 —	16,971.80	1,970.61	43,118.41
Total	91,700.26	91,396.31	68,970.61	252,092.52

1. Hungarian central organ (daily paper) 2. German Central organ (weekly)

Conviction a/c for the last three years of the Hungarian socialist democratic party.

	From March 15 1907 to March 15 1908	From March 15 1908 to March 15 1909	From March 15 1909 to March 15 1910	TOTAL
State Prison	13 6 4	6 9 15	4 4 —	24 7 18
Prison	8 1 2	6 10 1	5 1 11	24 — 14
Goal	3 6 —	22 10 —	18 3 4	44 7 4
Total	25 1 6	36 5 15	27 8 15	89 2 6
	Crowns	Crowns	Crowns	Crowns
Fines	14 978	23.730	11.740	50.448

Statement of the penalty suits.

	From March 15 1907 to March 15 1908	From March 15 1908 to March 15 1909	From March 15 1909 to March 15 1910	TOTAL
	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases
Revolt	5	2	2	9
Instigation	32	51	29	112
Deeds of violence to officials & others	95	56	91	242
Glorifying crime supporting crime	—	—	5	5
Extortion	—	—	21	21
Calumny & insult	13	16	11	40
Meddling with politics without security	6	25	3	34
Sentence given by officials	170	279	191	640
Total	321	429	353	1103

Memorandum of Hungarian Party Press.

« Népszava » Hungarian central organ of the party, appears every day except Mondays. Editor and manager's offices Budapest VIII Bez. Conti-utca 4.

« Volksstimme » German Centralorgan of the Party, published once a week. Editors and managers office Budapest IIII Conti-utca 5.

« Socialismus » Hungarian scientific paper of the Party, published once a month. Offices Budapest Conti utca 4.

« Adeverul » and « Glasul Poporului » Romanian central organs of the Party are published once a month. Offices : Budapest VIII, Conti-utca 5.

« Narodni Glas » Servian Central organ of the Party appears in Zagrab once a week. Zagrab Ilica 55.

« Slovenské Robotnické Noviny » Slovac central organ of the Party published in Pozsony once a week. Pozsony, Vásár-tér 12, 1.

« Kassai Munkás » appears once a week. Kassa, Munkás-Otthon (Workingmen's home) Deák Ferenc-utca 11

« Munkás » local paper of the Pécs comrades appears once a week. Pécs Zrinyi-utca 13.

« Volkswille » newspaper of our Temeswar comrades published twice a week. Temeswar, Nádor-utca 2. (Inner town).

« Westungarische Volksstimme » organ of the Pozsony comrades, published three times a week. Pozsony, Vásár-tér 12. 1.

« Il Lavoratore » Italian paper of our comrades in Fiume, published once weekly. Fiume, Via Fiumara 2.

Organisation of the Party.

The Hungarian socialist democratic party has no legal basis. Our organisation has as small a degree of « légalité »

as the organisation of our Russian comrades. In default of the right of coalition or assembly, a proper political organisation is quite impossible, even for bourgeois parties. But government streat the creation of certain « bourgeois » parties with a consideration which they do not extend to the proletariat, for as has been shown in the previous chapter, not even 4 % of the working class possess the most elementary right of citizenship, the right of vote.

Our party organisation, therefore does not consist of political unions, clubs or district assemblies, as in other countries. The form of our party organisation is the so-called « free organisation » of the different trades, working in the shadow of the several trades unions, whose statutes are sanctioned by the government.

On this unsteady and rather clumsy ground we are forced to fight our difficult party battles. The prospect of forming political meetings as a basis of the Party will only be realised when we have succeeded in wresting such polltical rights that our right of existence as a party or a political union can no longer be called into question from hour to hour by the government or certain official organs. Nowadays every meeting of more than ten persons is looked upon by the police as a « secret meeting » and the levying of party subscription as a « secret collection » therefore both are looked upon as « crimes » and heavy punisments are set for them, (See Penalty A/C of the Party).

The socialist democratic Party has therefore today among its members, members of the Unions belonging to the General Commission, who most certainly pay the necessary subscriptions. The Unions and the Party as well as the officials are united in a close relationship, founded on the conditions of the country.

Moreover, the organisation statute of the Party is similar to that of sister parties in other countries. The free organisation of the Unions described above, is looked upon as a local organisation, and the organisation statute combines

this on a democratic basis with the Party throughout the country. As subscription every organised member pays 4 Heller per week, out of which 2 Hellers are given to the local organisation and adjuncts (voting club, district organisation etc.) and 2 Heller are paid to the central administration of the Party.

These sums form the takings given in the tables. Today the Party comprises 66 trades unions free organisations and 6 district organisations in the capital and about 228 organisations throughout the country.

Education in the Party

In comparison with previous years we can report considerable progress in 1909 under the heading of Party education. Acting on past experience the organisations have refrained from capturing a lecturer from time to time, but they have instituted lecture cycles, in which the separate lectures are, whenever possible, connected with each other. The instruction was conducted by the instruction commission, chosen by the committee of the Party. The lecturers were for the most part chosen by the Party, however single branches instituted independent lectures. Notably, the timber workmen, the young workingmen, the Party organisations and organisations in the provinces, with the exception of the environs of Budapest.

In the arrangement of the lectures, there is much room for improvement. The greatest drawback is the fact that there are very few good lecturers, as the organisations make a very severe choice. The health of certain lecturers giving way, makes it necessary to replace same and, however excellent the substitute may be, it always means a decrease of interest.

The above mentioned committee has chosen the following subjects : socialism, history, natural sciences, political economy, hygiene, art, socialist policy, party programme, foreign

labour movements, trades union movements, history of the Hungarian labour movement, municipal policy, seminary, divers.

According to a tabular report the work of instruction in the party was pretty extensive : 492 lectures on the subjects mentioned, were delivered during the six winter months in 44 organisation in Budapest and in 17 provincial towns. We must put forward the initial difficulties as excuse if the figures in the published report do not agree with the real figures. It is a fact that in the winter months more lectures were given than has been reported.

There is certainly no party or union in Hungary that can report even a tenth part of this work of instruction. We must specially mention the Party school which is attended in the afternoons by employés of trades and in the evenings by officials of the technical organisations. The Party school had two subjects for instruction : political economy and wording.

The working women movement

The land organisation committee of the working-women movement has to content itself with extraordinarily modest means, which is naturally put down to the movement.

Progress is so slow that in the very near future help must be provided. In spite of the many difficulties which hinder the organising of working-women the organisation has done its duty as far as is possible. In addition to the Union movement, it also advanced the party organisation movement ; as they were required, lectures, conferences and meetings were held. Many conferences were held especially directed against house and food usury.

Inner organisation was promoted as well as exterior work ; the committee made special efforts to gain over to the organisations those working-women who had not joined, which in

several cases where the branches were quite indifferent, were crowned with complete success ; moreover, with the object of instructing the members, several scientific lectures were given.

Young workingmen movement.

In the years covered by the report, this movement had not yet succeeded in taking that steady course which is necessary in order to take in various young workingmen and apprentices of the capital and the provinces. Nevertheless the movement has developed, although the authorities endeavoured to restrain the working-lads' movement, as that of working-men, by means of decrees. In March 1909 Kossuth enacted a decree which forbade working-lads and apprentices to create unions or organisations, or even to attend the organisations of working-men. Naturally this decree remains only on paper, in spite of the ill-will of the authorities. It has done no harm to the working-lads' movement, but has simply induced them to take greater care.

Since September 1909 the "Jugendliche Arbeiter" is again being printed with an edition of 2000 copies, of which 1000 go to the provinces. In the first half of the reported year there were three groups in the capital (Central outer V-VI district Ofen) of 600-700 members. In these groups nearly 100 lectures were given in the course of the year. In the provinces in 10 towns the movement is much more powerful, although in several places the organisations have to resist the brutality of the authorities.

The working-lads in the capital have introduced a wider movement for the purpose of obtaining instruction in the daytime and doing away with Sunday teaching. The resources of this movement were the holding of un-notified meetings, demonstrations and school strikes. Under existing circumstances the general result of this movement can naturally only

amount to this, that the question of the reform of apprentice schools has taken form.

At Christmas the working-lads held their IV. land conference at which 12 towns took part with 37 delegates. This land conference took up the question of the young workingmen movement, but especially the demands of the working-lads. A meeting of working-lads called in connection with this land conference, was not notified by the head of the municipality, under the plea of "domestic discipline". In consequence of this the working-lads do not notify any more meetings and can now consult as to their affairs without being disturbed.

About 500 working lads took part in the demonstration march of January 16.

In 1910 the Hungarian trades union board were again forced to take into consideration the question of instruction of working-lads and apprentices. Up to the present four branch groups have been in operation, although the new system has not yet been completed. The trades union board had already in 1908 accepted a standard with regard to the education of apprentices, as this however was not maintained, the board in conjunction with the Party committee had another standard drawn up and although this has not yet been finally applied, it is certain that the education question of working-lads will be solved on this basis.

According to this scheme, it will be the joint task of the trades union board and the Party Committee to promote the uniform education of the working-lads throughout the country in the social democratic spirit. Education and organisation are to proceed in branches. The organ of the working lads shall also be published by a committee chosen by the Party committee and the trades unions board.

On this basis it is to be hoped that the working-lads movement will develop steadily.

Action in the territory of municipal policy

Our activity in the territory of municipal policy was for the greater part connected with the question of food and housing usury, and also with several municipal affairs in the capital. Numerous meetings were held on various matters and the entire population, suffering under this state of usury, were invited to attend these meetings; the invitations to the meetings were conscientiously spread throughout the whole town, by means of house agitation, and in spite of this in addition to organised working men very few others appeared at the meetings.

In May 1909 in Budapest matters came to a crisis, with the question of relief at the gasworks. On May 10, the gas-commission — under outward moral pressure — by a majority passed a decision for domestic administration. But the members of the gasworks administration, who took part in the city commission, strained every nerve to overthrow the proposal of the commission. The question was solved in a manner worthy of the capital. The greatest opponent of domestic administration, Franz Heltai was appointed manager of the municipal gasworks with an annual salary of 80,000 K. The bourgeois press accepted this Panama-like solution with great joy and again it was only our party which protested against this solution in the "Nepszava" and at meetings.

The Party organisation of the capital brought greater opposition to bear against the crippling of the building programme of the capital, executed by the Minister of the Interior on the already unsatisfactory project.

We may say that it is due to our active agitation that the municipal bread factory was erected. It is now for further agitation to see that this factory shall develop in such a measure as to be able to provide all the bread necessary for the capital.

On November 1, 1909 the new lodgings statute came into force, also a result of our agitation in the past year.

In November 1909 the municipal elections took place. Our Party did not appoint any candidates for the reason that the right of vote in the capital is even more restricted than the parliamentary vote and that the working-class is absolutely excluded from same, so that even from an agitator point of view, no results can be expected if we can hope to gain nothing. We should only have given to the cliques in the capital, new opportunities for exercising their Panama tendencies. The extent to which the cliques hold the municipal elections in their power is shown by the fact, that the 48 Party, which stood at the helm because of the clique system did not take part in the elections in many of the districts although the electors were all burghers. During these elections our Party held nearly 100 meetings and conferences in which we attacked the present day policy of the capital and urged the democratic reform of the town law.

In the question of municipal policy, our comrades in the provinces can report energetic action in many towns and communities of the country. In more than 40 places our comrades have taken part in municipal elections. In many places they appointed their own candidates and in several places our comrades can report real success in the elections. In the following places our comrades have seats in the municipality:

Báttasék 3, Erzsébetfalva 14, Kiskunhalas 3, Lovrin 3, Nagymaros 5, Nagyjécsa 14 (the whole council), Oroshaza 2, Pécs 1, Pápa 3, Sándorháza 11, Soroksár 3, Szássrégen 5, Széchenyitelep 19, Versec 3, Verbsás 7. In 15 municipalities 96 representatives.

The Hungarian Trades Union movement

We quote the following from our reports on our unions: — In 1909 27 national organisations belonged to the corporation of the trades union committee. (In 1908 the number was 28; after the amalgamation of the organisations of employés in commerce, and private officials, there was one national orga-

nisation less). The national corporations have 769 sections and groups. The latter dwindled down to 115 in consequence of persecution. The greater part of these has been suspended but is in operation as a free organisation. In 1909 the number of local independent organisations was 25. Of these the organisations of carters, coffee-roasters and waiters were suspended for a considerable length of time, and it is only lately that they have been able to resume operations.

On December 31, 1909 there were 85,266 members of which 80,095 were men and 5171 women. In 1908 there were 102,054 members. It is interesting to note that whereas the number of organised working-men went down from 96,564 to 80,095 (that is 17 %) the working-women numbers only fell from 5490 to 5171 (that is not quite 6 %). Of the organised working-men 48,110 in the provinces.

The following table sets out the fluctuation in numbers and funds of the industrial working-men organisations :

Organisations

Year	Number of members	Takings	Expenses In Crowns.	State of funds
1901	9,999	—	—	58,920
1902	15,270	—	—	68,311
1903	41,138	373,800	201,189	141,002
1904	53,169	846,820	706,520	667,057
1905	71,173	1,131,987	878,367	896,793
1906	129,332	1,680,059	1,330,308	1,247,643
1907	130,120	1,944,233	1,819,480	1,136,176
1908	102,054	1,762,106	1,932,224	1,194,058
1909	85,266	1,506,637	1,421,116	1,279,579

It was not only the decrease in membership that diminished the takings, but also the fact that several organisations were not able to raise subscriptions from their members during some time. Whereas in 1908 the income amounted to

1,762,106 K. 27 H., the amount in 1909 was 1,506,637 K. 42 H., therefore 255,468 K. 85 H less. On the other hand the expenses have come down considerably. In 1908 these amounted to 1,932,224 K. 22 H. and in 1909 1,142,116 K. 36 H. thus 511,107 K. 86 H less. According to this table — in comparison with the past year — the cash has also gone back, which can be ascribed to the fact that in several organisations the real estate does not figure as an asset. The total amount of support paid out in 1909 was 712,758 K. 31 H., which makes 47 % of the takings ; not including those considerable sums which were paid out by the town magistrates to the organisations for the support of the unemployed.

Within the last five years the following amounts have been paid for the support of the unemployed and for travelling : — In 1904 : 161,282 K. ; 1905 : 204,984 K. ; 1906 : 229,629 K. ; 1907 : 315,760 K. ; 1908 : 453,742 K. and 1909 357,874 K. For private matters the following sums were given out in 1908: 180,760 K, 1909 : 111,789 K.

In spite of the considerable decrease in takings and expenses the unions paid out in 1908 327,256 K. for support of unemployed, 40,818 K. journey money, and special help 40,309 K.

If we look over the above report we will be struck with the going back in the trades unions. Our technical organisations have lost over 16 1/2 thousand members. The takings were a quarter of a million less and the expenses half a million. But although these figures show a retrograde movement, it does not agitate us, we even look upon it with pleasure. With pleasure, because our loss is not by any means so great as it would appear at first. If we examine the reports of the foreign technical organisations, they also report a going back. The action of the business crisis is felt also in those countries which possess the strongest and most developed technical organisations. But our technical organisations were not only exposed by the crisis, that accompaniment of present day order of society, to upheavals, but they also had to undergo a

severe ordeal on the part of public powers, the authorities and employers' unions. Everything in the way of force and brutality was brought to bear on our technical organisations. The government and the capitalists made common cause in the persecution of labour organisations and gave each other mutual support.

If therefore we take into consideration the fact that the economic crisis, the government and the employers assisted in the set-back of the labour organisations, if we further take into consideration the fact that with us the development of technical organisations took place in a most unnatural, or rather jumpy manner (the number of members in six years 1901-1907 has increased fourteenfold) and that the organised working class had not counted on an eventual economic crisis and had therefore not made any preparations, then we can be thoroughly satisfied with our organisations and have no cause for repining. We have reason to be proud of our present army, for it has given proof of its self respect and of its constancy, by keeping together during the period of the greatest persecutions and trials.

The economic crisis is past and the persecutions are getting less. The trades unions are without exception busy filling in the breach. The number of members has increased during recent months, several organisations have enrolled a few thousands of new members this year.

Cooperative Action

From the following it will be seen that the cooperative movement in Hungary has gained in power. The Party management has supported this movement, in so far as was possible. The Party organisations of the capital were constantly encouraged to agitate for the cooperative movement, in meetings, conferences and through the press. The following reports with their statistics also prove the efforts made by the work-

ing class to oppose to the curse of agrarian policy, which increases the price of food, the strengthening of the cooperative movement.

The general cooperative society of consumption

As has been done by similar modern cooperatives of the West, this society has also adopted as its chief business principle only to sell its goods for cash, which has no doubt contributed to the fact that the working-men, because they were in debt with the merchants, could only be won over to the corporation gradually and with difficulty.

However, this drawback is becoming smaller and smaller, as the working class realises the advantages of cash payments and hundreds of working-men in the capital its environs and in the provinces are now joining the cooperative every month as the following table will show :

Number of members in the cooperative in :

Dec. 3, 1904	767	members with 1,022 shares
" 3, 1905	1,292	" " 1,567 "
" 3, 1906	1,447	" " 1,685 "
" 3, 1907	3,152	" " 3,378 "
" 3, 1908	5,174	" " 5,799 "
" 3, 1909	7 931	" " 8,292 "

From this it can therefore be seen that the number of members has rapidly increased, especially within the last 3 years. Naturally this will be felt throughout the organisation and in every division of the cooperative.

The capital which is composed of shares of a value of 20 Crowns, only increases slowly, but this can be ascribed to unfavourable economic conditions.

Notwithstanding this, up to December 31, 1909, 58,362 Crowns were paid in for shares.

The Savings Department is taken advantage of by members who show a really praiseworthy confidence, so that it is continually increasing.

Business relations naturally increase every year in proportion to the increase of members. In order properly to cope with the business, the cooperative is constantly opening new branches. In 1909 four new branches were opened and their number on December 31, 1909 was 14. Moreover there is a depot in Rákospalota-Ujffalu. By opening such depots shortly in Rákosújtelep, Soroksár, Rákoszentmihály and other places, the cooperative will increase business and satisfy the wants of the members.

The increase of business can be seen (closing entries June 30) from the following table :

In 1904.	.	.	.	7,805.23	k.
In 1905.	.	.	.	133,909.45	k.
In 1906.	.	.	.	139,662.71	k.
In 1907.	.	.	.	183,445.77	k.
In 1908	.	.	.	304,602.13	k.
In 1909.	.	.	.	529,004.11	k.

In 1910, the cooperative, taking former business as a basis will do a trade of one million crowns.

This statistic does not comprise the wood and coal trade as well as other accessory trades which considerably increases the turnover. Last year the cooperative began payments of profit returns.

The General Consumption cooperative Society does not wish to confine its activity to the capital and its environs, but desires also to extend this movement to the provinces and therefore until such time as a wholesale trade corporation with a central head office can be created, they have undertaken this work also. Thus they supply the provincial cooperative with advice and goods. In addition they watch over the cooperative movement in the provinces, so that same shall develop on a sound basis. The head office of the General Consumption Cooperative Society is always ready to give advice and information to the provincial cooperative.

In the interests of the propagation of their idea, the General

Consumption Cooperative Society publishes a paper under the title of « Szövetkezeti Ertesítő » (Federation Indicator). This paper, which runs to an edition of 2000 numbers, going thoroughly into the home and foreign phases of the movement, constantly publishes economic articles. The paper can be bought in the branch establishments of the corporation 4 Heller per number and the annual subscription is 2 Crowns.

There are constant agitations in the interests of the cooperative and considering the large number of working-men living in Budapest and its environs, the cooperative is endeavouring to get in touch with the working-class, not only by increasing its establishments, but also by increasing the number of its shares.

In order to realise this plan it is necessary first to erect a cooperative bakery and house. The board is working diligently on the execution of both plans and it is quite probable that before these lines are published, we shall be able to report the result of their work.

b) "Concordia" Supply Cooperative

This Cooperative was founded for the purpose of protection against the system of food usury established by the inns and cookhouses. This form of organising eating-houses is becoming more and more general among working-men who do not keep house, so that in 1909 the corporation was able to open 2 dining-rooms and rent a restaurant.

On December 31, 1909 there were 1200 members of the corporation. Although a great number of the members were not consumers -- on an average 600 people took their meals in the dining-rooms of the cooperative. The amount of business done last year was about 120,000 K. There are 28 employés.

The results obtained can be termed satisfactory in every sense of the word. Those comrades who attend the dining-rooms get an incomparably better meal for little money than

in any other eating house. The result is all the more praiseworthy, because the society had not only to contend with competition but also with the initial difficulties and with certain evils resulting therefrom.

However with the resistance of the members and the corresponding enlightenment of those working-men who do not keep house, this institution which plays so important a part in the labour movement, will gradually become perfect.

« Social-Creations » of the Coalition Government

The very much neglected subject of Hungarian labour insurance has been amplified since the last international congress, by two seemingly essential laws. A law was created on « insurance against sickness and accident for employés in industry and commerce » and on the « regulation of the legal relations between the agricultural employer and the agricultural labourers ».

Both laws came to the surface for political reasons. No one thought of improving the position of the labourer, on the contrary : by these laws it was intended to restrict still more the labourers liberty of organisation.

The compulsory insurance against sickness of industrial labourers was made law in 1891. In reality, however, compulsory insurance was narrowly confined. There was at that time no solution as regards accident insurance. Article XIV of the law of 1891 permitted working-men to insure with private societies and prescribed that the working-men should pay 2/3 and the employers 1/3 of the premium. In this proportion the working-men elected 1/3 of the members of various societies out of their own numbers for the management of these clubs.

The ruling classes ascribed the growing power and deve-

lopment of the socialdemocratic party to the powerful autonomy of the sick clubs. They proclaimed that the sick clubs were strong unattainable fortresses of the working-men and that the workingclass could not be bound in chains so long as the law relating to sick clubs should remain unaltered...

The coalisitic Wekerlé-Kossuth government, whose so-called national fight, was stigmatised by the working-class as fraud, brought all their force to bear against the organised workingclass. In addition to the trades unions movement, it seemed to them that the alteration of the law on insurance against sickness, would be a means to the end of weakening the working class. The « Social-Creation » of the coalition government owes its birth chiefly to this circumstance. The accident insurance law was made however, because the chief Hungarian court of justice had granted to disabled working-men such a high rate of compensation that employers indignantly rose against it. For this reason the employers urged accident insurance, from purely business motives. Government was ready to do anything in opposition to the workingmen and thus the employers knew beforehand that compulsory accident insurance would be considerably cheaper for them than the compensation granted to the working-men by a court of justice.

The « regulation of the legal relation between agricultural employer and agricultural labourer » is nothing more than a miserable strike law. Only one paragraph provides for the sickness insurance of the labourers and in such a manner that the wealthy agricultural employers are only obliged to pay medical attendance and drugs during 45 days, for their permanently employed labourers including the wives and children under 12 years. The employer is allowed however, to deduct a part of the money paid out for the members of his family, from the wages of the labourer. As already stated, this law does not serve social insurance, but under this title helps with its draconian provisions to hinder labourers strikes.

Article XLV of the law of 1907, made in regard to « Sick ness and accident insurance of employés in industry and commerce » contains the following principles :— 1. Compulsory nature of the insurance ; 2. Centralisation of insurance organs : 3. Combining sickness with accident insurance ; 4. Uniformity of the intermediary local organs ; 5. Equal representation : 6. Erection of the institution of arbitral tribunals.

These foundation principles are bowled over by the law itself. It is true that insurance is made compulsory, but is so limited that the greater part of working-men do not come under its influence. Thus agricultural labourers do not come under the insurance law at all. Moreover, 70,000 miners were withdrawn from the provisions of this law, leaving them to the obsolete brotherhood and deducting 5-6 % of their wages for its miserable support. The number of industrial working-men amounts to 1,363,849, out of which end of 1909 only 780,000 were members of the public fund. The remaining 583,000 do not come under the influence of the insurance law. This principle of simplification could only emanate from bureaucracy. The process is a lengthy and expensive one. The working-men have inmost cases to wait 1-2 1/2 years for their accident money. The parity was certainly not able to eliminate the working-men, but it is already mooted that when the law is altered, « real parity » will be introduced, that is, it will be decided that only so many working-men will be able to vote as there are employers at the meeting.

The spirit of the law is characterised by the fact that although it is fashioned after the model of the German and Austrian labour insurance, yet it has only adopted the worst provisions all along the line. For instance, the German insurance law guarantees 66 2/8 % income in cases of accidents, and the Austrian only 60 % ; they have adopted the Austrian provision. The Austrian law fixes the sickness payment at 60 % of the day's wages the German law gives 50 % ; they have adopted the German one.

The autonomy is simply set out on paper. The missing statutes of the law make it possible for the highest Forum, the State insurance office, created for the purpose of checking the funds, to destroy any single decision of the autonomy. This office even stipulates the amount of salary that the « diurnists » shall draw.

The measure of support has decreased since the new law was passed. The Budapest society which has 168,000 members, worked formerly without deficit, and paid during 26 weeks the total amount of sick money and during 13 weeks half of same. Now the society can only afford the sick payment during 20 weeks, and in 1909 showed a deficit of 461,000 Crowns.

Several district sick clubs are almost bankrupt. This state of things has been brought about by the ridiculous provision that the small traders only working with five workingmen should only pay 2 percent. The other employers and their workmen however pay three percent. This absurdity, which has caused a loss of millions to the societies, was committed from a purely political point of view. The injustice of this provision is characterised by the fact that according to the law a workingwoman employed in a big jute mill and earning 7 Kr per week, has to pay 3 % of her wages to the sick-fund. A small trade workman who earns 30 Kr. per week only pays 2 %.

We can best characterise the miserable conditions of accident insurance, by publishing the wages of the insured workmen, according to official statistics of the public treasury.

By the table of statistics we are informed that in 1908 there were 780,823 members of the societies ; out of these 153,871 belonged to I. class, in the II class there were 225,042, in the III class, 190,131, in the IV class, 104,605, in the V class, 51,099, in the VI class, 32,274, in the VII class, 12,932 and in VIII class 10,874 members. One can infer the miserable wages that exist in Hungary from this classification. Namely :

153,871 workmen taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 1.—Crown.

225,042 workmen taking a yearly average earned a day's wage of 1.50 cr.

190,131 workmen, taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 2.50 Cr.

104,605 workmen, taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 3.50 Cr.

51,099 workmen, taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 4.50 Cr.

32,274 workmen, taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 5.50.

12,932 workmen, taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 6.50 Cr.

10,874 workmen, taking a yearly average earned a daily wage of 7.50 Cr.

Or 569,044 workmen earn at the most 3 Cr. per day and only 211,784 workmen earn more than 3 Cr. per day. And if the workman becomes totally disabled, then he gets 60 per cent of this annual wage. His widow gets 20 per cent and each child gets 15 per cent.

The organised working class throughout the country is waging war against the new law, and on the unavoidable alteration of the law, they are endeavouring to obtain that the interests of the working-man shall be better provided for.

Statistics regarding Hungary

(Extract from a social democratic election manifesto)

The lords and the slaves of the land

In our beautiful fatherland there are 3708 large estates of over 7000 « Joch »; their total surface amounts to 11,903,246 registered « Joch ». On the other hand there are 1,279,718

small estates, that is those that only comprise 5 « Joch », amounting together to 2,155.506 « Joch ». Counting all the estates which are as large as 20 « Joch », we get 2,123,634 and these have a surface of 10,870,081 registered « Jochs ». According to this 2,123,634 proprietors of smaller estates possess less than 3768 proprietors of large estates.

If we take the average net income of 1 « Joch » only at 40 K. then the yearly income of a large landowner amounts to 126,000 K. Is this not sufficient for food, clothing, even for cards and races ? But many a large landowner possesses 20,000 Joch of land and perhaps more ; his income would amount to two or three millions.

But how does the smaller landowner exist who has to pay taxes to the state, commune, Komitat, and church, and savings bank interest and much more. He struggles, poor fellow, by the sweat of his brow, in order to give satisfaction on all sides. And what use is this to him ? He tills the ground in vain, he hardly ever has anything to sell ; and if he should succeed, then the various taxes, the clergyman, the savings-bank bring down the price he gets. When he has to buy anything, then he pays a lot for it ; for the many food taxes and customs dues bring up prices. In this way the small landowner vegetates, if he does not go under altogether. In 1908 15,000 estates were sold by auction at a total amount of K. 40,000,000. The average value of one estate came to 2500 K ; they were mostly therefore small estates of poor people ! The same year by contract, or forfeit, imposts were entered on the registers on 393,682 holdings, which together amounted to 846 million Crowns ; by means of executions on 103,590 holdings 103 1/2 millions were intabulated ; 582 millions were written off. Therefore the landowners debt en one year rose to 350 millions Crowns.

Are these not sad conditions ? However we can reassure you ; the possessions of the higher clergy and the nobility do not come under the hammer ; the law protects them from the executor.

According to the census of 1900 in Hungary more than 11 millions souls get their living by agriculture, while a third part of the land is in the possession of 2000 persons. You can therefore never get possession of a bit of land, for the possessions of the Counts and the higher clergy cannot be sold, the law has bound them « in perpetuity ». So that you will always have to work at a daily wage. And the luxurious life enjoyed in this way is testified to by the official report of the agricultural minister, which states that in agriculture the medium daily wage for a man is 2 K. 5 H., for a woman K. 1 H. 36, and for a child 96 H. How many working days are there in a year ? If things go well. 200. So that a man can earn an annual wage of 410 K. A labourer who hires himself by the year, in a good year can earn a medium wage of 500 K. Six labourers must therefore work for 40 years in order together to earn as much as a landed proprietor puts in his pocket without trouble in one year.

But, land proletarian, you must not only water the ground with your sweat but also with your blood. In 1908 alone, there were accidents during work to 10 834 agricultural labourers. Of these accidents 8988 were serious, 296 were fatal. Out of the disabled labourers 6927 were fathers or mothers of families, and 24,019 members of families lost their provider. The agricultural labourers fund and working-mens funds assisted the 10,834 disabled labourers with a total amount of 500,793 Cr. Therefore each labourer received for the loss of his health or his life the sum of 50 Crowns.

“ Trade has a floor of gold ”

In 1900 in Hungary there were 2251 industrial enterprises which employed more than 20 workmen. Among these enterprises 41 employed more than 1000 workmen.

While it is not possible to check the industrial property and income as easily as that of the landed estates, yet the reports of certain companies, who have to publish their balance-sheets, give us a sight of this « golden floor ».

In 1908 the total profits of the industrial share companies amounted to 67 millions of crowns. This money is not the result of the work, nor the « proper » interest of the capital, for same only gets 5 %, whereas the shareholders got an average of 12 %. Under these conditions the manufacturers and shareholders can well praise honest handwork.

But what did the workman get from the gold of his hand-work ?

Out of the 780,000 workingmen registered in the labour insurance fund, 154,000 earn 1 Crown per day. 227,000 earn 1 1/5 Cr. per day, 199,000 earn up to 2 1/2 Crowns per day. The medium annual earnings are 700 Crowns per day 1 Crown 01 Heller. Thus it is certain that the 1,031,078 working-men and women as well as the 1,363,846 members of their families, counted in the census, of 1900, led a most miserable existence.

And like the agricultural labourer, the industrial workman risks his life and health in the service of the capitalist. In 1907 19,458 industrial workmen met with accidents ; 233 were disabled for life, 213 lost their lives. The fatherland provided for them : Each one received the average sum of 20 Crowns 75 Heller sickmoney ; but the families of those who had died received each 40 Crowns 99 Heller for burial assistance.

The miner who digs for gold has a still harder lot.

In 1908 the Hungarian mines yielded treasure amounting to 150 millions Crowns. This immense treasure was dug out of the earth by 69,258 miners ; among these there were 5974 children. He, who hunts in the bowels of the earth for treasure, has to give up his dearest possession, his health and many years of his life.

And what is his share of these treasures ? The official report tells us : In the mines the daily wage of the miner varies between 100 and 580 Heller, that of the women between 40 and 240 Heller and that of the children between 28 and

250 Heller. So that grown miners work for 1 Crown per day, women for 40 Hellers and children, who should be playing in sunshiny meadows, work in the depths of the earth for a starvation wage of 28 Hellers. Such is the lot of the miner. And in addition to this there is the risk of accident. In 1908 1452 miners met with accidents of which 151 were fatal.

Who bears the general costs.

Ten years ago the ground-rent amounted to 61 1/2 millions and up to 1908 rose to 66 1/2 millions. To the 1400 million annual expenses of the country the landowners only contributed this small sum. And even this sum is paid to a great extent by the peasants with their tiny spot of earth, and not the counts and bishops with their ten thousand Jochs. The justice of the ground-rent division is shown by the following examples :

Count Alexander Nako possesses in Komitat Toronto 13,000 Joch and pays taxes of 1 Crown 52 Heller per Joch ; in the same district the peasants pay for 3-5 Joch, 3 Crowns 56 Heller per Joch. Count Wenckheim pays for his 6128 Joch fields and 1125 Joch woods, registered in the province Doboz, 10 Heller per Joch to the State, while the peasants pay 2 Crowns 10 Heller per Joch.

The total direct taxes of the land amounted in 1908 to 256 1/2 million crowns. This was paid by various large landowners Bankers, Manufacturers, capitalists, householders. In conjunction with the exhausted small landowners, small traders, small merchants and smaller officials.

Where did the other many millions come from ? These were almost all snatched from the mouths of the poorer people.

In the form of food taxes in 1908 224 1/2 millions were got from the people. Of this 91 1/4 millions tax on spirits (increased with 10 years by 31 1/2 million) tax on sugar 45 1/2 million (increased within 10 years by nearly 30 million) tax on meat 8 1/2 million (this only increased by half a million for

the people are gradually coming to do without meat) tax on wines 19 1/2 million (increased by 4 1/2 million) tax on beer 19 million (increased by 6 1/2 million tax on paraffin 13 1/4 million (increased by 3 1/4 million) etc.

Out of the revenues (tobacco, salt) the state took 173 1/2 million. A kilogramme of salt costs the State 2 Heller, we pay 28 Heller for it.

How do we live and die ?

The working-mans' lot in Hungary is therefore : wage, privation, wasting away in his work and finally beggary. Most of the working men can not satisfy their hunger with dry bread even ; they can only have meat on feast days. Their dwellings are often so miserable that they look with envy on the fine stalls of the cattle and dogs which the rich folks provide for their pets. In Budapest 10-15 persons live in one room, even, according to official reports, even 30.

Is that living ?

This question is answered by emigrants and suicides.

In 1907 209,169 persons emigrated from Hungary to countries over the seas. In 1908 3621 committed suicide. Misery mostly drives them to death. The old man with the scythe has a rich harvest here and finds an ample field for his work.

In Hungary in 1908 194,871 children under five years of age, died. Out of 100 deaths there were 44 children. What killed them ? 66,076 children died from inherited diseases. Their parents were delicate, weak, badly nourished ; or else the mother when pregnant, had to work in the fields or in the factory up to the last moment. 11,593 were destroyed by dysentery, the illness of the poor. 6957 die of measles, 5071 of whooping cough, 7627 of croup and inflammation of the throat, mostly because there was no doctor in attendance hand, and when such was the case, because there was no money to pay the doctor.

Among adults pulmonary tuberculosis took away 65,694, Out of 100 sick people, 45 died without medical help. There

are too few doctors in the country, in 1908 there were 5193. In the provinces there is one doctor to about 4500 souls. In a district of 125 kilometres there was one apothecary for 9000 souls! The number of official doctors was 2217; their salaries are miserable; they average 2346 crowns (including quarters and travelling money). On the other hand there are 13,664 active priests, 5209 nuns and 2328 monks.

So that 5000 badly paid persons looked after the health of the people, while 21,000 monks living on the fat of the land, looked after the welfare of their souls.

The arrangements of the State and society are bad, and therefore the working class has to suffer.

In state arrangements and in the drawing up of laws, the working-class has no say, we do not send representatives of the people to parliament, the large estateowners sit there, the prince bishops, the manufacturers and those officials who are in their service.

In France out of 100 habitants 28 have the right of vote, in Austria 27, in Germany 22, in Hungary only 6.

In France, Austria and Germany there is the general and secret right of vote, but here in Hungary only a fraction of the inhabitants has the right of vote, the vote is public and voting is done under pressure.

It is for the reason that the large estateowners, the prince bishops and the manufacturers sit in parliament and make laws which make the strong still more powerful and the poor still poorer.

The large landowners require cheap mowers and labourers, the clergy require ignorant people, the manufacturers require cheap workmen; but we want exactly the opposite.

We want that everyone who does useful work in the land, shall be able to live in a proper manner.

And this will only be possible when we shall have obtained the general equal and secret right of vote.

This is the foundation of all peoples' rights.

VI. — FRENCH

Report of the Socialist Party

(French section of the workers' international party)

TO THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS

Since the Stuttgart congress the French section of the workers' international party has taken an always increasing share in the political and social events of the country in which it evolves.

Its efforts have endeavored to group within its frame an always increasing number of workers. To carry this out, the Party has organized always more and more methodically its propaganda work, which is done either by the Federation militants, within the geographical limits of their province, or by the delegates depending directly from the central organization, or, still, by the legislative representatives, the latter two throughout the country.

The Party has also endeavored in its successive annual congresses, of Toulouse in 1908, Saint-Etienne in 1909, and Nîmes in 1910, to precise the aims of Socialism and to define the best means which are at the disposal of the Proletariat to reach its goal.

It has also extended its activities in mixing more and more into the whole national life, in order to